DISCOURSES

DELIVERED BY

PRESIDENTS JOSEPH SMITH

AND

BRIGHAM YOUNG,

ON THE

RELATION OF THE "MORMONS"

TO THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

AN ADDRESS

BY PRESIDENT JOSEPH SMITH,

Delivered on the evening of his arrival from Dixon, June 30, 1843, in the Grove, near the Temple, Nauvoo; about eight thousand people having hastily assembled, under the most intense excitement, in consequence of the attempt of Sheriff Reynolds, of Jackson County, Missouri, to kidnap him to Missouri, by preventing him from obtaining a writ of Habeas Corpus.

[Reported by Dr. Willard Richards and Elder Wilford Woodruff.]

JOSEPH arose and said.—

The congregation is large; I shall require attention. I discovered what the emotions of the people were on my arrival at this city, and I have come here to say "how do you do?" to all parties, and I do now at this time say to all, "How do you do?" I meet you with a heart full of gratitude to Almighty God; and I presume you all feel the same. I am well—I am hearty. I hardly know how to express my feelings—I feel as strong as a giant. I pulled sticks with the men coming along, and I pulled up with one hand the strongest man that could be found: then two men tried, but they could not pull me up; and I continued to pull mentally until I pulled Missouri to Nauvoo. But I will pass from that subject.

There has been great excitement in the country since Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon Wilson took me; but I have been cool and dispassionate through the whole. Thank God, I am now a prisoner in the hands of the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, and not in the hands of Missourians.

It is not so much my object to tell of my afflictions, trials, and troubles, as to speak of the writ of Habeas Corpus, so that the minds of all may be corrected. It has been asserted by the great and wise men, lawyers and others, that our municipal powers and legal tribunals are not to be sanctioned by the authorities of the State; and accordingly *they* want to make it lawful to drag away innocent men from their families and friends, and have them put to death by ungodly men for their religion! Relative to our city charter, courts, right of Habeas Corpus, &c., I wish you to know and publish that we have all power; and if any man from this time forth says anything to the contrary, cast it into his teeth. There is a secret in this; if there is not power in our charter and courts, then there is not power in the state of Illinois, nor in the Congress, or Constitution of the United States: for the United States gave unto Illinois her constitution or charter, and Illinois gave unto Nauvoo her charters, ceding unto us our vested rights, which she has no right or power to take from us; all the power there was in Illinois she gave to Nauvoo; and any man that says to the contrary, is a fool. The Municipal Court has all the power to issue and determine writs of Habeas Corpus within the limits of this city, that the Legislature can confer. This city has all the power that the State Courts have, and was given by the same authority—the Legislature.

I want you to hear and learn, O Israel! this day, what is for the happiness and peace of this city and people. If our enemies are determined to oppress us, and deprive us of our constitutional rights and privileges as they have done; and if the authorities that are on the earth will not sustain us in our rights, nor give us that protection which the laws and constitution of the United States, and of this State, guarantee unto us, then we will claim them from a higher power—from Heaven—yea, from God Almighty.

I have dragged these men here by my hand, and will do it again; but I swear I will not deal so mildly with them again; for the time has come *when forbearance is no longer a virtue:* and if you or I are again taken unlawfully, you are at liberty to give loose to blood and thunder. But be cool, be deliberate, be wise, act with almighty power, and when you pull, do it effectually—make a *sweepstakes* for once!

My lot has always been cast among the warmest hearted people; in every time of trouble, friends, even among strangers, have been raised up unto me, and assisted me.

The time has come when the veil is torn off from the state of Illinois, and its citizens have delivered me from the state of Missouri: friends that were raised up unto me would have spilt their life's blood, to have torn me from the hands of Reynolds and Wilson, if I had asked them; but I told them not. I would be delivered by the power of God, and generalship, and I have brought these men to Nauvoo, and committed them to her from whom I was torn, not as prisoners in chains, but as prisoners of kindness. I have treated them kindly. I have had the privilege of rewarding them good for evil. They took me unlawfully, treated me rigorously, strove to deprive me of my rights, and would have run with me into Missouri to have been murdered, if Providence had not interposed: but now they are in my hands; and I have taken them into my house, sat them at the head of my table, and placed before them the best which my house afforded; and they were waited upon by my wife, whom they deprived of seeing me when I was taken.

I have no doubt but I shall be discharged by the Municipal Court: were I before any good tribunal I should be discharged, as the Missouri writs are illegal, and good for nothing—they are "without form and void."

But before I will bear this unhallowed persecu-

tion any long[illegible] I will be dragg[illegible] away again, among my enemies for trial, *I will spill the last drop of blood in my veins, and will see all my enemies* IN HELL! To bear it any longer would be a sin, and I will not bear it any longer. Shall we bear it any longer? (One universal No! ran through all the vast assembly, like a loud peal of thunder.)

I wish the lawyer who says we have no powers in Nauvoo, may be choked to death with his own words. Don't employ lawyers, or pay them money for their knowledge; for I have learnt they don't know anything. I know more than they all.

Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel; he that believeth in our chartered rights, may come here and be saved, and he that does not shall remain in ignorance. If any lawyer shall say there is more power in other places and charters, with respect to Habeas Corpus, than in Nauvoo, believe it not. I have converted this candidate for Congress (pointing to Cyrus Walker, Esq.), that the right of Habeas Corpus is included in our charter. If he continues converted, I will vote for him.

I have been with these lawyers, and they have treated me well; but I am here in Nauvoo, and the Missourian too. I got here by a lawful writ of Habeas Corpus, issued by the Master in Chancery of Lee County, and made returnable to the nearest tribunal in the fifth Judicial District having jurisdiction to try and determine such writs: and here is that tribunal, just as it should be.

However indignant you may feel about the high hand of oppression which has been raised against me by these men, use not the hand of violence against them; for they could not be prevailed upon to come here till I pledged my honor and my life that a hair of their heads should not be hurt. Will you all support my pledge, and thus preserve my honor? (One universal Yes! burst from the assembled thousands.) This is another proof of your attachment to me. I know how ready you are to do right; you have done great things, and manifested your love towards me in flying to my assistance on this occasion. I bless you in the name of the Lord, with all the blessings of heaven and earth you are capable of enjoying.

I have learned we have no need to suffer as we have heretofore—we can call others to our aid. I know the Almighty will bless all good men—he will bless you; and the time has come when there will be such a flocking to the standard of liberty as never has been, or shall be hereafter. What an era has commenced! Our enemies have prophesied that we would establish our religion by the sword; *is it true?* No; but if Missouri will not stay her cruel hand in her unhallowed persecutions against us, I restrain you not any longer. I say in the name of Jesus Christ, by the authority of the Holy Priesthood, I this day turn the key that opens the heavens to restrain you no longer from this time forth. I will lead you to battle, and if you are not afraid to die, and feel disposed to spill your blood in your own defence, you will not offend me. Be not the aggressor—bear until they strike you on the one cheek; then offer the other, and they will be sure to strike that; *then defend yourselves*, and God will bear you off, and you shall stand forth clear before His tribunal.

If any citizens of Illinois say we shall not have our rights, treat them as strangers and not friends, and let them go to hell and be damned! Some say they will mob us—let them mob and be damned! If we have [illegible] charter rights, privileges, and [illegible] our fathers fought, bled, and died for, and which the Constitution of the United States, and of this state, guarantee unto us, we will do it only at the point of the sword and bayonet.

Many lawyers contend for those things which are against the rights of men, and *I can only excuse them, because of their ignorance.* Go forth and advocate the laws and rights of the people, ye lawyers; if not, don't get into my hands, or under the lash of my tongue.

Lawyers say the powers of the Nauvoo charter are dangerous; but I ask, is the Constitution of the United States, or of this state, dangerous? No; neither are the charters granted unto Nauvoo by the legislature of Illinois dangerous; and those who say they are, are fools. We have not enjoyed unmolested those rights which the Constitution of the United States of America, and our charters grant. Missouri and all wicked men raise the hue and cry against us, and are not satisfied. Some political aspirants of this state also, are raising the hue and cry that the powers in the charters granted unto the city of Nauvoo are dangerous; and although the General Assembly have conferred them upon our city, yet the whine is raised "repeal them—take them away." like the boy who swapped off his jack knife, and then cried, "Daddy, daddy, I have sold my jack-knife, and got sick of my bargain, and I want to get it back again." But how are they going to help themselves? Raise mobs? And what can mobocrats do in the midst of Kirkpatrickites? No better than a hunter in the claws of a bear. If mobs come upon you any more here, dung your gardens with them. We don't want any excitement; but after we have done all, we will rise up, Washington-like, and break off the hellish yoke that oppresses us; and we will not be mobbed.

The day before I was taken at Inlet Grove, I rode with my wife through Dixon to visit some friends, and I said to her, "Here is a good people." I felt this by the Spirit of God. The next day I was a prisoner in their midst, in the hands of Raynolds of Missouri and Wilson of Carthage. As the latter drove up, he exclaimed, "Ha, ha, ha! By God, we have got the Prophet now!" He gloried much in it; but he is now our prisoner. When they came to take me, they held two cocked pistols to my head, and saluted me with "God damn you, I'll shoot you! I'll soooot you; God damn you," repeating these threats nearly fifty times from first to last. I asked them what they wanted to shoot me for. They said they would do it if I made any resistance. "O, very well," I replied, "I have no resistance to make." They then dragged me away, and I asked them by what authority they did these things. They said, "By a writ from the Governors of Missouri and Illinois." I then told them I wanted a writ of Habeas Corpus. Their reply was, "God damn you, *you shan't have it.*" I told a man to go to Dixon, and get me a writ of Habeas Corpus. Wilson then repeated, "God damn you, you shan't have it; I'll shoot you. When we arrived at Dixon, I sent for a lawyer, who came, and Reynolds shut the door in his face, and would not let me speak to him, repeating, "God damn you, I'll shoot you." I turned to him, opened my bosom, and told him to "shoot away; I have endured so much persecution and oppression that I am sick of life: why then don't you shoot, and have done with it, instead of talking so much about it?" This somewhat checked his insolence. I then told him that I *would* have council to consult,

[illegible] my wi[illegible] The lawy[illegible] me, [illegible] of H[illegible] C[illegible] [illegible] court [illegible] me[illegible] of Dixon [illegible] such un[illegible] and unlawful [illegible] my persecut[illegible] out of [illegible] might; altho[illegible] the first [illegible] swore I sh[illegible]ain in Dixon [illegible] and I found they had ordered horses [illegible] to proceed to Rock Island I pledged m[illegible] to my council that the Nauvoo city ch[illegible] ferred jurisdiction to investigate the sub[illegible] we came to Nauvoo, where I am now pr[illegible] the custody of a higher tribunal than the [illegible] court

The charter says that "the city council sh[illegible] have power and authority to make, ordain, establish, and execute such ordinances, not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, or of this state, as they may deem necessary for the peace, benefit, and safety of the inhabitants of said city;" and also that "the Municipal Court shall have power to grant writs of Habeas Corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city council." The city council have passed an ordinance "that no citizen of this city shall be taken out of this city by any writ, without the privilege of a writ of Habeas Corpus." There is nothing but what we have power over, except where restricted by the Constitution of the United States. "But," say the mob, "what dangerous powers!" Yes; dangerous, because they will protect the innocent, and put down mobocrats. The Constitution of the United States declares that the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be denied. Deny me the right of Habeas Corpus, and I will fight with gun, sword, cannon, whirlwind, and thunder, until they are used up like the Kilkenny cats.

We have more power than most charters confer; because we have power to go behind the writ, and try the merits of the case.

If these powers are dangerous, then the Constitution of the United States, and of this state, are dangerous; but they are not dangerous to good men; they are only so to bad men who are breakers of the laws. So with the laws of the country, and so with the ordinances of Nauvoo, they are dangerous to mobs, but not to good men who wish to keep the laws.

We do not go out of Nauvoo to disturb any body, or any city, town, or place. why then need they be troubled about us? Let them not meddle with our affairs, but let us alone. After we have been deprived of our rights and privileges of citizenship, driven from town to town, place to place, and state to state, with the sacrifice of our homes and lands; our blood has been shed, many having been murdered: and all this because of our religion—because we worship Almighty God according to the dictates of our own consciences; shall we longer bear these cruelties, which have been heaped upon us for the last ten years in the face of heaven, and in open violation of the Constitution and Laws of these United States, and of this state? God forbid! *I will not bear it:* if they take away my rights, I will fight for them manfully and righteously until I am used up. We have done nothing against the rights of others.

You speak of lawyers; I am a lawyer too; but the Almighty God has taught *me* the principle of law: and the true meaning and intent of the writ of Habeas Corpus is to defend the innocent, and investigate the subject. Go behind the writ, and [illegible] of [illegible] fits of the [illegible] and the great [illegible] of having the [illegible], and the writ of Habeas Corpus; and [illegible] bold to ask for this privi[illegible] day; and [illegible] in the name of Jesus [illegible], and all th[illegible], that I may have your [illegible] and all your [illegible] to carry out the freedom which is chart[illegible] us. Will you all help [illegible]? If so, make it manifest by raising the right hand. (There was [illegible] unanimous response—a [illegible] sea of hands b[illegible]g elevated.) Here is truly a committee of the whole.

When at Dixon, a lawyer came to me as counsel; Reynolds and Wilson said I should not speak to any man, and they would shoot any man who should dare to speak to me. An old grey-headed man came up, and said I should have counsel, and he was not afraid of their pistols. The people of Dixon were ready to take me from my persecutors, and I could have killed them notwithstanding their pistols, but I had no disposition to kill any man, though my worst enemy—not even Boggs: in fact *he* would have more hell to live in the reflection of his past crimes, than to die. After this I had lawyers enough, and I obtained a writ for Joseph H. Reynolds and Harmon Wilson, for damage, assault, and battery, as well as the writ of Habeas Corpus.

We started for Ottoway, and arrived at Pawpaw Grove, 32 miles, where we stopt for the night. Squire Walker sent Mr Campbell, sheriff of Lee County, to my assistance, and he came and slept by me. In the morning certain men wished to see me, but I was not allowed to see them. The news of my arrival had hastily circulated about the neighborhood; and very early in the morning the largest room in the hotel was filled with citizens, who were anxious to hear me preach, and requested me to address them. Sheriff Reynolds entered the room and said, pointing to me, "I wish you to understand this man is my prisoner, and I want you should disperse; you must not gather round here in this way." Upon which an aged gentleman who was lame, and carried a large hickory walking-stick, advanced towards Reynolds, bringing his hickory upon the floor, said, "You damned infernal puke; we'll learn you to come here and interrupt gentlemen: sit down there (pointing to a very low chair), and sit still; don't open your head till General Smith gets through talking: if you never learned manners in Missouri, we'll teach you that gentlemen are not to be imposed upon by a nigger driver: you can *not* kidnap men here, if you do in Missouri; and if you attempt it here, there's a committee in this Grove that will sit on your case; and, sir, it is the highest tribunal in the United States, *as from its decision, there is no appeal.*" Reynolds, no doubt, aware that the person addressing him was at the head of a committee who had prevented the settlers on the public domain from being imposed upon by land speculators, sat down in silence, while I addressed the assembly for an hour and a half on the subject of marriage; my visitors having requested me to give them my views of the law of God respecting marriage.

My freedom commenced from that hour. We came direct from Paw-paw Grove to Nauvoo, having got our writ directed to the nearest court having authority to try the case; which was the Municipal Court of this city

love [illegible] have the [illegible] people, [illegible] Moses to the [illegible] *sannah!?* How [illegible] has delivered us [illegible] troubles I commend [illegible] the blessings of H[illegible], in the name of Jesus Christ [illegible]

(President Smith then introduced Mr. C[illegible] Walker to the assembled m[illegible] and remarked to him, "These are the great [illegible], as a body of people, that ever lived, or I am not as big a rogue as I am reported to be. I told Mr. Warren I would not discuss the subject of religion with you. I understand the gospel, and you do not, you understand the quackery of law, and I do not." Mr. Walker then addressed the people to the effect, that from what he had seen in the Nauvoo city charter, it gave the power to try writs of Habeas Corpus, &c. After which President Smith continued as follows:)

If the Legislature have granted Nauvoo the right of determining cases of Habeas Corpus, it is no more than they ought to have done, or more than our fathers fought for.

Furthermore, if Missouri continues her warfare, and to issue her writs against me and this people unlawfully and unjustly as she has done, and to take away and trample upon our rights, I swear in the name of Almighty God, and with uplifted hands to heaven, I will spill my heart's blood in our defence. They shall not take away our rights; and if they don't stop leading me by the nose, I will lead them by the nose; and if they don't let me alone, I will turn up the world—I will make war. When we shake our own bushes, we want to catch our own fruit.

The lawyers themselves acknowledge that we have all power granted us in our charters that we could ask for—that we had more power than any other court in the state; for all other courts were restricted, while ours was not, and I thank God Almighty for it I will not be rode down to hell by the Missourians any longer; and it is my privilege to speak in my own defence; and I appeal to your integrity and honor that you will stand by and help me, according to the covenant you have this day made.

DISCOURSE

By President Brigham Young, Tabernacle, February 18th, 1855.

[READ BY ELDER THOMAS BULLOCK]

BRETHREN, SISTERS, AND FRIENDS:—

We are a people believing in the providences of God, and acknowledging his hand in his dealings with us from day to day.

We are a people whose rise, and progress from the beginning, has been the work of God our Heavenly Father, which in his wisdom he has seen proper to commence for the re-establishment of his kingdom upon the earth.

Still further, we believe that the Lord has been preparing that, when he should bring forth his work, that when the set time should fully come, there might be a place upon his footstool where sufficient liberty of conscience should exist, that his saints might dwell in peace under the broad panoply of constitutional law, and equal rights. In this view we consider that the men of the Re-

[illegible] of [illegible] worship

It was [illegible] worthy [illegible] ing times [illegible] wisdom [illegible] prince in [illegible] to for[illegible] sures wh[illegible] ding g[illegible] dent [illegible]

This [illegible] by the [illegible] in every sea, [illegible] in every land.

The Am[illegible] to none in the world [illegible] power, and far before all other [illegible] and free institutions. Under its benign influence the poor, down trodden masses of the old world can find an asylum where they can enjoy the blessings of peace, and freedom, no matter to what caste or religious sect they belong, or are disposed to favor, or whether they are disposed to favor any, or none at all. It was in this government, formed by men inspired of God, although at the time they knew it not, after it was firmly established in the seat of power and influence, where liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of religious worship were a fundamental principle guaranteed in the Constitution, and interwoven with all the feelings, traditions, and sympathies of the people, that the Lord sent forth his angel to reveal the truths of heaven as in times past, even as in ancient days This should have been hailed as the greatest blessing which could have been bestowed upon any nation kindred, tongue, or people. It should have been received with hearts of gratitude and gladness, praise and thanksgiving.

But as it was in the days of our Savior, so was it in the advent of this new dispensation. It was not in accordance with the notions, traditions, and pre-conceived ideas of the American people. The messenger did not come to an eminent divine of any of the so called *orthodoxy*,—he did not adopt their interpretation of the Holy Scriptures The Lord did not come with the armies of heaven, in power, and great glory, nor send his messengers panophied with ought else than the truth of heaven, to communicate to the meek, the lowly, the youth of humble origin, the sincere enquirer after the knowledge of God. But he did send his angel to this same obscure person, Joseph Smith jr, who afterwards became a Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, and informed him that he should not join any of the religious sects of the day, for they were all wrong; that they were following the precepts of men instead of the Lord Jesus; that he had a work for him to perform, inasmuch as he should prove faithful before him.

No sooner was this made known, and published abroad, and people began to listen, and obey the heavenly summons, than opposition began to rage, and the people, even in this favored land, began to persecute their neighbors, and friends for entertaining religious opinions differing from their own

[illegible] th . right [illegible] t n w religio [illegible] nent? L[illegible] one [illegible] wo s [illegible] ions [illegible] It w s [illegible] boso [illegible] people, no [illegible] invade [illegible] nes, no Legis[illegible] Governo[illegible] obstruct the fre[illegible] thereof [illegible] should it be esteem[illegible] cation that Joseph [illegible] God to perform a work [illegible] the gospel [illegible] vation unto the childr[illegible] men, and his follow-ers, true believers in [illegible] mission, should attempt to exercise the sam[illegible] privilege held sacred by all others, of every name, nature, and description, and equally so by them? Why should he, and his followers be d barred the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences? Legally they cannot, and I will further state, that legally they have not. No! when ever the iron hand of oppression, and persecution has fallen upon this people, our opposers have broken their own laws, set at defiance, and trampled under foot every principle of equal rights, justice, and liberty found written in that rich legacy of our fathers, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Whenever popular fury has been directed against us, no power in the government has been found potent enough to afford protection, and, what is still more astonishing, honorable enough to yield redress, nor has any effort succeeded in bringing to justice those individuals who had perpetrated such fearful crimes. No! The murderer, the *assassin*, the *mid-day plunderer*, and *highway robber* roam unmolested, and mingle unquestioned in the society of the rulers of the land; they pass, and re-pass as current coin, producing no jar in the sensibilities of refinement,—no odium in the atmosphere in which they move.

I ask you friends, how is this? Are not our religious sentiments as sacred to us as to any other portion of the community? And should it not be the duty, as well as the pride, of every American citizen to extend that provision of the CONSTITUTION to us which he claims for himself? And is not that sacred instrument invaded, and broken as much in debarring, and excluding this people from its privileges, rights, and blessings, as it would be if your rights, and privileges were thus invaded? No, gentlemen, we have broken no laws, our Glorious CONSTITUTION guarantees unto us, all that we claim. Under its broad folds, in its obvious meaning, and intents, we are safe, and can always rejoice in peace. All that we have ever claimed, or wish to, on the part of the government, is the just administration of the powers, and privileges of the National Compact

It is not our acts, neither our intentions that the people, or the Government, are afraid, or complain of; but their own evil surmisings concerning us.

In our first settlement in Missouri, it was said by our enemies that we intended to tamper with the slaves, not that we had any idea of the kind, for such a thing never entered our minds. We knew that the children of Ham were to be the '*servants of servants*,' and no power under heaven could hinder it, so long as the Lord should permit them to welter under the curse, and those were known to be our religious views concerning them. Yet, the misrepresentation of our enemies found willing ears in those prejudiced against us, and we were driven from our homes in consequence [illegible] and the [illegible] d[illegible] wh[illegible] against us in perse-quence [illegible]

[illegible] early part of our history, [illegible] of the people, and Government were [illegible], becaus[illegible], said that it was our intention to tamper with the Indians, therefore we must not be [illegible] to exist in their vicinity [illegible] again the alarm was sounded, and we were driven from our homes, plundered, mobbed, some killed, and all this not for any crime which we had committed, but for fear we might commit one.

Again, it was industriously circulated that we were going to declare our '*Independence*,' not that we had, or intended to do so absurd a thing; yet anything, no matter how absurd, seemed sufficient excuse to startle the fears of the community, and they began to drive, plunder, rob, burn our houses, and lay waste our fields, and this was called, '*Mormon disturbances*,' and the aid of the Government was invoked to quell '*Mormon insurrection*,' '*Mormon troubles*,' and 'Turbulent Mormons.' And although it was found necessary, as they state, to drive us from Missouri, and the frontiers, to prevent us from tampering with the slaves, and Indians, yet it was found equally necessary, ten years afterwards, when we were a hundred to one at that time, to drive us from Nauvoo into the very midst of the Indians, as unworthy of any other society.

Fears of what we might do with the Indians, had by this time subsided, and fears of something else that we might hereafter do, if left to remain in peace, and a desire to plunder accomplished our exodus from Illinois. Perhaps, however, in this last case our enemies might have entertained some fears that, if we were permitted to remain unmolested, the blood thirsty assassins who killed our Beloved Prophet and Patriarch, Joseph and Hyrum who were inhumanly massacred while reposing under the pledged faith of the State for their protection, and safety, might not be permitted to remain undisturbed in their guilt.

As in the case of the Indians upon the frontier, this also was a false conclusion, for if ever a people would have been justified in redressing their own wrongs, and could have done so with impunity, it was at the time of this horrible murder. But they proved to the world, by their quiet and peaceable demeanor, that they had no such intention, but this was forgotten, and in less than a year and a half we were again assailed, our houses and grain stacks burned, and our brethren shot down in the glare of the light thereof, while attempting to save a pittance to drive starvation not from the doors, nor the tents, for there were none of either, but from the famishing hearts of their social circle,—of their wives, and children.

And again was the aid of the Government invoked to quell the so called 'Mormon disturbances,' and still we see the newspapers teeming with these, and the like epithets, 'Turbulent Mormons,' 'What shall be done with these turbulent Mormons?' is the cry, from one end of the Union to the other. In the name of Heaven what have we done to excite the fears of any People, or Government, that the sound of war and blood must eternally be kept ringing in our ears? I answer, nothing It is the same as before, in the case of tampering with the slaves, and Indians, a certain fearfulness that if we are not looked to, driven, plundered of our homes and possessions, slain, and massacred as before, that we may do something, they have not yet, to my knowledge, defined precisely what.

Permit me to direct your attention for a moment, to a few facts in relation to the [illegible] tation for the Mexican war. While the cloud of persecution [illegible] every side, when every [illegible] us, our Leaders [illegible] by the authorities of the Government in which we lived, and no hope of relief could penetrate through the thick darkness and gloom which surrounded us on every side, no voice was raised in our behalf, and the General Government was silent to our appeals. When we had been insulted, and abused all the day long by those in authority requiring us to give up our arms, and by every other act of insult, and abuse which the prolific imagination of our enemies could devise to vex, as they said, our patriotism, which requisitions,be it known,were always complied with on our part; and when we were finally compelled to flee for the preservation of our lives, and the lives of our wives and children, to the wilderness, I ask had we not reason to feel that our enemies were in the ascendant? That even the Government, by their silent acquiesence, were also in favor of our destruction? Had we not, I ask, some reason to consider them all, both the people and the Government, alike our enemies.

And when, in addition to all this,and while fleeing from our enemies, another test of fidelity and patriotism was contrived by them for our destruction, and acquiesed in by the Government, (through the agency of a distinguished politician who evidently sought, and thought he had planned our overthrow and total annihilation,) consisting of a requisition from the War Department to furnish a Battallon of five hundred men to fight under their officers, and for them, in the war then existing with Mexico, I ask again, could we refrain from considering both people and Government our most deadly foes? Look a moment at our situation, and the circumstances under which this requisition was made. We were migrating, we knew not whither, except that it was our intention to go beyond the reach of our enemies. We had no homes, save our wagons and tents, and no stores of provisions and clothing; but had to earn our daily bread by leaving our families in isolated locations for safety, and going among our enemies to labor. Were we not, even before this cruel requisition was made, unmercifully borne down by oppression and persecution past endurance by any other community? But under these trying circumstances we were required to turn out of our travelling camps 500 of our most efficient men, leaving the old, the young,the women, upon the hands of the residue to take care of and support;and in case we refused tocomply with so unreasonable a requirement, we were to be deemed enemies to the Government, and fit only for the slaughter.

Look also at the proportion of the number required of us,compared with that of any other portion of the Republic. A requisition of only thirty thousand from a population of more than twenty millions was all that was wanted, and more than was furnished, amounting to only one person and a half to a thousand inhabitants. If all other circumstances had been equal, if we could have left our families in the enjoyment of peace, quietness, and security in the houses from which we had been driven, our quota of an equitable requisition would not have exceeded four persons

[illegible] if all [illegible] peculiar [illegible] circumstances in which [illegible] reason fails to demonstrate, and [illegible] in its depth beneath its enormity. And for whom were [illegible] to fight? As I have already shown, for those that we had every reason to believe were our most deadly foes. Could the Government have expected our compliance therewith? Did they expect it? Did not our enemies believe that we would spurn, with becoming resentment and indignation, such an unhallowed proposition? And were they not prepared to make our rejection of it a pretext to inflame the Government still more against us, and thereby accomplish their hellish purposes upon an innocent people, in their utter extinction? And how was this proposition received, and how was it responded to by this people? I went myself, in company with a few of my brethren, between one and two hundred miles along the several routes of travel, stopping at every little camp,using our influence to obtain volunteers, and on the day appointed for the rendezvous the required compliment was made up; and this was all accomplished in about twenty days from the time that the requisition was made known.

Our Battalion went to the scene of action, not in easy berths on steam boats, nor with a few months absence, but on foot over two thousand miles across trackless deserts, and barren plains, experiencing every degree of privation, hardship, and suffering during some two years absence before they could rejoin their families. Thus was our deliverance again effected by the interposition of that All Wise Being who can discern the end from the beginning, and overrule the wicked intentions of men to promote the advancement of his cause upon the earth. Thus were we saved from our enemies by complying with their, as hitherto, unjust and unparalleled exactions; again proving our loyalty to the government.

Here permit me to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of Captain Allen, the bearer of this requisition from the Government. He was a gentleman full of humane feelings, and, had he been spared, would have smoothed the path, and made easy the performance of this duty, so far as laid in his power. His heart was wrung with sympathy when he saw our situation, and filled with wonder when he witnessed the enthusiastic patriotism and ardor which so promptly complied with his requirement. Again proving, as we had hundred of times before proved by our acts, that we were belied by our enemies; and that we were as ready, and even more so than any other inhabitants of the Republic, to shoulder the musket, and go forth to fight the battles of our common country, or stand in her defence. History furnishes no parallel either of the severity and injustice of the demand, or in the alacrity, faithfulness, and patriotism with which it was answered, and complied. Thus can we cite instance after instance of persons, holding legal authority, being moved upon, through the misrepresentation and influence of our enemies,to insult us as a people by requiring a test of our patriotism. How long must this state of things continue? So long as the people choose to remain in wilful ignorance with regard to us; so long as they choose to misinterpret our views, misrepresent our feelings, and misunderstand our policy.

To accuse us of being unfriendly to the Government, is to accuse us of hostility to our religion, for no item of inspiration is held more sacred with us than the Constitution under which she

[illegible]

[illegible] has p[illegible] [illegible]ds, for w[illegible] [illegible] too wit[illegible] [illegible] entering to us [illegible] carefully looked o[illegible] [illegible]damental and dear[illegible] [illegible]tion to be broken [illegible] and trampled under [illegible] with [illegible] these circumstances [illegible] course [illegible] us [illegible] pursue? I answer that instead [illegible]ing to [illegible]stroy the very best government [illegible] world, seems to be the fears of [illegible]. [illegible] all other good citizens, should seek to pl[illegible] power who will feel the oblig[illegible] and respon-sibilities they are under to [illegible] people; who would feel, and realize the important trusts [illegible]posed in them by the voice of the people who [illegible] them to administer law under the solemn sanction of an oath of fidelity to that heaven inspired instrument, to the inviolate preservation of which we look for the perpetuity of our free institutions.

If should be the aim of all good citizens, and it is our intention and design as a people to promote virtue, intelligence, and patriotism, and when any person seeks to invade our virtue by sowing the seeds of corruption, and vice, and when rebuked therefor assails our rights, and patriotism, as has universally heretofore been done, he exhibits, before this people, his own depraved heart. Should not those persons who are appointed to administer law, observe it themselves? Should not those officers who have been sent among us by the United States, be an example in point of morality, virtue, and good behaviour; and do honor to those laws which they came here to execute and administer? And shall they so far forget themselves, as to spend their time in licentiousness, gambling, and seducing the innocent, and unsuspecting; and in a variety of ways sow the seeds of sin, and immorality, with impunity, and no man dare utter his protest? I tell you nay. With me,—with this people you will have war, if needs be, upon this principle. It is incumbent upon us to use our influence for the preservation of ourselves, our wives, our children, our brethren, our sisters, and all of our society from the contaminating influence of vice, sin, immorality, and iniquity, let it emanate from where it will. If it exists in high places so much the more need of rebuking it, for from thence it will do the most harm.

I claim this as a right, as a Constitutional right; I believe it is legal to exercise all the power and influence which God has given me for the preservation of virtue, truth, and holiness; and because we feel sensitive, upon points such as these, should it be construed that we are enemies to the Federal Government? Our history proves that for such things we have been persecuted even unto death, but this deters me not. I would rather have God my friend, and all the world enemies, than be a friend with the world, and have God my enemy; and in this view of the case the Government should also be our friends, for assuredly in the preservation of virtue, morality, and intelligence

[illegible] wic[illegible] [illegible] influen[illegible] [illegible] to cle[illegible] [illegible] ing [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]s its p[illegible], the other [illegible] [illegible] the wicked rule the [illegible]rn.'

[illegible] is our [illegible]tion towards the Government [illegible] United States, and towards the we[illegible] [illegible] iniquity, and exalt virtue; to declare [illegible] of God, which he revealed unto [illegible], and b[illegible] his Kingdom upon the earth. [illegible], *Know all* [illegible] Governments, Nations, Kindreds, Tongues, and People, that this is our calling, [illegible], intention, and design. We aim to live our religion, and have communion with our God. We [illegible] to clear our skirts of the blood of this generation by our faithfulness in preaching the truth of heaven in all plainness, and simplicity; and I have [illegible] said, and repeat it now, that all other considerations, of whatever name, or nature, sink into insignificancy in comparison with this. To serve God, and keep his commandments are first and foremost with me. If this is higher law, so be it. As it is with me, so should it be with every Department of the Government; for this doctrine is based upon the principles of virtue, and integrity; with it the Government, her Constitution, and free Institutions are safe; without it no power can avert their speedy *destruction*. It is the Life giving power to the Government; it is the vital element on which she exists and prospers; in its absence she sinks to rise no more.

We now proceed to discuss the question, does our faith and practice,—our holy religion, as we hold and believe it, come within the purview of the Constitution; or in other words, is it a religious question over which the Constitution throws its protecting shield? It reads, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' Ours is, peculiarly a religious establishment; in it are centered all our hopes of salvation, honor, glory, and exaltation. In it we find our hopes of a resurrection, and of a life of immortality in another state of existence. By it we are actuated in all our business of life, through its influence we have preserved virtue, established truth, and been enabled to endure persecution. By its influence we have surmounted the difficulties of a banishment from the abodes of civilization and this world's enlightenment, and established ourselves in these distant vales where, until we came hither, there was nothing, either in soil, climate, or productions, to attract the notice of even the adventurous, and enterprising; in a country which offered no inducements worthy of consideration to any people but us. And why to us as a people? Because here, far distant from any white settlements, upon a piece of earth not valuable for its facilities either for cultivation, navigation, or commerce, where the whole face of the country presented the most barren and forbidding aspect, we considered we might live, and enjoy our religion unmolested, and be free from the meddlesome interference of any person. If our principles and religion were obnoxious to any,—they were relieved from our presence, unless they chose to follow us.

If the people of the United States do not like

our religious institu[illegible] to mix in [illegible] with [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] subsist [illegible] the [illegible] exe[illegible] [illegible] trinsic [illegible] in order that we [illegible] preserve [illegible] the insults, [illegible] mies [illegible] of [illegible] base, [illegible]

Why should we have [illegible] our objectors, that you [illegible] society like other religi[illegible] has been seen that the [illegible] to dwell in their midst in [illegible] universally driven by illeg[illegible] derers and assassins, as [illegible] having [illegible] place amongst the abodes [illegible] as a last resort, we found [illegible] distant valleys. It is because our [illegible] is the [illegible] true one. It is because we have the only [illegible] authority, upon the face of the whole earth, [illegible] minister in the ordinances of the gospel. It [illegible] because the keys of this dispensation w[illegible] com-mitted by messengers sent from the C[illegible] world unto Joseph Smith, and are now held on the earth by this people. It is because C[illegible] and Lucifer are enemies, and cannot be mad[illegible] and Lucifer, knowing that we have this priest-hood, this power, this authority, seeks our over-throw.

[illegible] we [illegible] asun[illegible] [illegible] in which [illegible] we [illegible] prophecy, and the pre-[illegible] of our Lord and [illegible] We expect that [illegible] swept away, and that [illegible] or Kingdom which [illegible] no heed to the prin-[illegible] be utterly wasted [illegible]

[illegible] word [illegible] from the Almighty and will not [illegible] It becomes us, therefor[illegible] on our wedding garments, to [illegible] trimmed and bur-ning, well filled [illegible] we also be taken una-wares, and share the fate [illegible] the foolish virgins.

May the Lord [illegible] with the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, that [illegible] may be enlighten-ed, our understa[illegible] g d and strengthened; and may his grace, w[illegible], and intelligence be given unto us for our [illegible]vation, and sanctifi-cation tending to[illegible] and generation, for the [illegible] sake. A[illegible]

A[illegible] above discourse was read, President B[illegible] Young addressed the congregation as [illegible]

[illegible]

I am aware that these answers involve the truth of our principles, the divine appointment of Joseph Smith, the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, &c., but this subject I leave for y[illegible] and investigation, with this sim[illegible] that whether our religion is beli[illegible] people or not, it is by us, and no pow[illegible] authority in the Government [illegible] righteously molest us in the pe[illegible] enjoyment thereof. It cannot [illegible] law, and surely the Government h[illegible] make any law concerning it, or to prevent the [illegible] exercise thereof.

Why should tests of patriotism to the Govern-ment be required of this people, more than of any other community in the States and Territories? Would it not be considered insulting and abusive in the highest degree, by any other community in the government, to be thus subjected and hu-miliated? Cannot the people and Goverement perceive in us, as a people, industry, sobriety, or-der, and well regulated society, also a general dif-fusion of knowledge, and dissemination of moral principle? And do they not know that these are the unmistakeable signs and fruits of virtue, truth, love of our country, and high regard for her in-stitutions? And do not such views, feelings, practices, and principles emanate from a pure and undefiled religion, a high sense of faith, practice, and obligation unto Christ our Lord, and his re-vealed will unto us?

Does our doctrine, containing such views, sen-timents, and practices, and exercising so genial an influence upon society, or, in other words, does our religion disqualify us from being faithful, good, and patriotic citizens of the American govern-ment? Have the American people so far gone astray, and wandered from the light and power of the Gospel, that they cannot understand, re-cognize, and appreciate the savory element of re-ligious influence, high tone of morality, and

[REPORTED BY G. D. WATT.]

A portion of this congregation have been brought up in America, and are more or less ac-quainted with the Constitution, with the Consti-tutional rights of the people, with the institutions of the country, with the State governments, laws, etc.; and if they have paid particular attention, and have heard br. Bullock read my written dis-course, so that they could understand it, they know whether their minds, feelings, and judg-ments coincide with mine, upon the views that have just been presented.

For one, I can say they are true; they are the sentiments of this people, so far as they are ac-quainted with the principles of the government of the United States; though a part of our pre-sent community have not been reared under the benign influences of the institutions of our pa-rent government. But as far as they understand, I will venture to say that these are the sentiments of all the Latter Day Saints.

In my conversation, I shall talk and act as I please. Still I am always aware, when speaking in public, that there are those present who are disposed to find fault with this people, and to try to raise a prejudice against them; and they will pick up isolated words and sentences, and put them together to suit themselves, and send forth a garbled version to prejudice the world against

[illegible] no [illegible]

[illegible] I will [illegible] which I per[illegible] coming forth of the [illegible] the Book of Mormon [illegible] This [illegible] may be new to several, [illegible] personal knowledge with regard to [illegible] circumstances.

[illegible] be [illegible] conclusions we [illegible] do not [illegible] Kingdom [illegible] earth [illegible] church of Jesus [illegible] to be found upon it. It is [illegible] that no other church [illegible] in the Old and New [illegible] a resemblance to the ancient [illegible] fullness of the doctrine [illegible]

So far as morality goes [illegible] no complaints to make [illegible] of people live according to [illegible] have, but the Holy Priesthood is not on the earth unless the Latter Day Saints have [illegible] It is the Priesthood again given to the children of men, shall I say it out? (Yes.) That [illegible] devil, and makes all hell angry; and the servants of the devil will run to and fro, and publish his lies about Christ and his church on the earth. They are not angry with me or with you, and the professors of Christianity, the priests are not angry with us, but they are filled with wrath and indignation with themselves, and with the Almighty. Why are they angry? Because they are men, and like other men. If a man sees his house about to fall, if he sees something or other continually gnawing, and gnawing, and picking, and operating upon the foundation, and discovers that by and bye his house must fall, perhaps when he is asleep, or when he is gone from home, and destroy his women and children, he is all the time worried, and in a stew; all the time watching with a fearful looking for the time when it will crumble to pieces. This is the difficulty with the professing Christain world. Is it so with the infidel? No, he does not care anything about the matter; but those sweet, loving, blessed Christians, the priest in the pulpit, and the deacon under it, and the sage followers of their own nonsense and the traditions of their fathers are the ones who are at war with the Eternal Priesthood of God.

The Universalists say that we are all going to heaven in a heap together, and if they believe their religion they do not trouble themselves about Mormonism. Though I confess that I think the most of them are like the old man who was a strong believer in Universalism, and, while walking among his cattle, and musing over his doctrine, stepped up to a favorite ox, and said to himself, 'I believe the doctrine of the Universalists, but old Bright, as well as I love you, I would willingly give you if I *knew* it was true. You find a man who does not belive in any religious doctrines, who does not believe in a future existence, and what does he care about Mormonism? Nothing at all.

[illegible] man who, to get the plates, rode [illegible] three times the same season they [illegible] Joseph Smith. About the time [illegible] delivered to Joseph by the angel, [illegible] man sent for him, and informed [illegible] were going to lose that treasure, [illegible] did not know what it was. The man [illegible] a fortune teller, a necromancer, an [illegible] soothsayer, and possessed as much [illegible] that walked on the American [illegible] was one of the wickedest men I ever [illegible] The last time he went to obtain the treasure [illegible] knew where it was, and told where it [illegible] did not know its value. Allow me to [illegible] that a Baptist deacon and others of [illegible] neighbors were the very men who sent for [illegible] after the last time he went for the [illegible]e. I never heard a man who could swear like that astrologer; he swore scientifically, by rule, by note. To those who love swearing it was musical to hear him, but not so to me, for I would leave his presence. He would call Joseph every thing that was bad, and say, 'I believe he will get the treasure after all.' He did get it, and the war commenced directly.

When Joseph obtained the treasure, the priests, the deacon, and religionists of every grade went hand in hand with the fortune teller, and with every wicked person, to get it out of his hands, and to accomplish this a part of them came out and persecuted him.

Ours is professedly a Christian nation, and those who profess to be Christians should be so in very deed; if they were they would not hesitate to have a good man, and a Christian preside over them. As much as is said against Christians sitting in the Presidential chair of the government, they are the only suitable persons to rule, and should be taught of the Lord by dreams and visions. But after all the hue and cry about 'Church and State,' there has not been a President, nor a Governor, in our day, but what has been controlled, more or less, by priests who deny revelation, believe not in visions, and receive not the ministration of angels. Presidents, Governors, Members of the Cabinet and of Congress are more or less controlled either by the priests, or by a traditionary religious influence; and at the same time nearly all of them will turn round and curse the priests, and curse religion to the lowest hell, while they are governed, and controlled by it. The false religion that is in the world is what raises this 'hue and cry,' misguides the people, and opposes itself against the Kingdom of God on the earth. Now if *we* would only fall in with the wicked all would be right, and then no person would wish to persecute us.

I will meet on a few sayings and doings that transpired in Missouri, when they had Joseph and many others in prison. Old General Clark had discretionary power, from Gov. Boggs, to kill man, woman, and child, or to spare the women and children, or distribute the whole community

[illegible] that I am o[illegible]
[illegible] os d to, it r
[illegible], with a lot of
[illegible] one great
[illegible] to set up his
[illegible] d saying, "I
[illegible] d gentleman
[illegible] tell [illegible] d a woman to
[illegible] me t[illegible] ring up gambling
[illegible] d [illegible] ng, and stirrin
[illegible] up [illegible]'s; hunting out
[illegible] the [illegible] ming the peopl
[illegible] morals [illegible] g them to become like oth r
[illegible] munit[illegible] saying to Mrs. Such-a-one, o
[illegible] Such[illegible] Won't you ride with me
won't you [illegible] ride to-night with me?
I am a high[illegible] gentleman." A prudent
father, or husband, says, "Come home here, this
is your place, you have no business with strangers." What is the result of this? Why, from
most of the high-minded gentlemen, you can hear,
"God damn the Mormons, they are opposed to
the Federal Government, because they will not
let us sleep with their wives and daughters." I
am opposed to such men, and am after them with
the barbed arrows of the Almighty. To what
extent? Let them intrude upon the chastity of
my family, and, so help me God, I will use them
up. (All the congregation said, "Amen.") Such
characters may cry, "Aliens, aliens; the Mormons are all hostile to the Government," and they
may cry it until they are in hell.

The starting point [illegible] arose by our enemies [illegible] their own houses, and swearing that they were burnt out and driven by the Mormons. This I know, for it came under my own observation. When General Clark came into Far West with his army, he sent George M. Hinkle, the apostate, to call out the remainder of the brethren on to the public square, and when they were assembled he surrounded them with his men, and said, "Gentlemen, I have discretionary power in my hands, and I will now tell you what we desire,—we wish one to go home with this man, and another with that man, and take your wives and children with you, and distribute yourselves through the State. You are the best mechanics and the most industrious people we have; and you have accomplished more here in two years than our old settlers have in twelve. We wish you to live with us. Why cannot you associate with us? I want you to scatter among our people, and give up your religion, and Prophet, for I will tell you now, in the beginning, you will never see your Prophet Joseph Smith again." (Said I to myself, that is a falsehood.) "Only mingle with us, and give up your Prophet, your Apostles, and your assembling yourselves together, and we wish you to stay with us, for you are the best citizens in the state." I thought that these expressions did not correspond well with many of his remarks, and being determined not to give up my religion, I at once concluded that he might go to hell, and I would leave the State; and so I did, with the balance of the Latter-day Saints, as they had previously killed many.

As I have already stated, the President of the United States should be a perfect pattern for all the people to walk after; so also should the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, and of Congress, the Governors of States and Territories, and, in fine, all the officers in the Government, be patterns for the people to imitate. But what do you find among the leaders of the people? Almost everything but an upright example.

Corrupt men cannot walk these streets with impunity, and if that is alienism to the Government, amen to it. The Constitution of the United States we sustain all the day day long, and it will sustain and shield us, while the men who say we are aliens, and cry out "Mormon disturbance," will go to hell. There have been officers here who were not fit to live in our midst, and they ran home, and raised the cry, "Mormon disturbances," "Mormon rebellion," "Mormon war," "and treasoners;" but their day is over.

Brethren and sisters, our friends wish to know our feelings towards the Government. I answer, they are first-rate, and we will prove it too, as you will see if you only live long enough, for that we shall live to prove it, is certain; and when the Constitution of the United States hangs, as it were, upon a single thread, they will have to call for the Mormon Elders to save it from utter destruction, and they will step forth and do it.

We love the Constitution of our country; it is all we could ask; though in some few instances there might be some amendments made which would better it. We love the Federal Government, and the laws of Congress. There is nothing in those laws that in the least militates against us, not even to our excluding common law from this Territory. I can inform our lawyers who plead at the bar here, that the Congress of the United States have passed laws giving us the privilege of excluding common law at our pleasure, and that too without any violation of the Constitution, or general statutes. They have also given us privilege to stop drunkenness, swearing, and gambling, and to prevent horse-racing, and to punish men for hurting, and robbing each other. The Constitution of the United States, and the whole Federal Government, in their acts, have given us this privilege.

When a man professes to be my friend, and the friend of this people, he will take my counsel, instead of stirring up strife, and practising iniquity. I dislike the wilfully corrupt, and by and by I will come out thunder-like, as I have done upon others when practising iniquity; and as I did upon a certain individual when he made his glorious speech, and insulted this people from the highest to the lowest. I chastised him, and he ran off and reported as my sayings those which I did not say. It was told him, while he was on the plains, that President Zachary Taylor was dead and damned, and it has gone through the States, from side to side, that I said so. It was first given out that the Mormons said so, and then that Brigham said so; well, I backed it up, because I knew it was true. I have just as good a right to say that President Taylor is in hell, as to say that any other miserable sinner is there. Was he any more than flesh and blood? I have as good a right to canvass him, in a religious point of view, as I have to canvass the peasant upon the dung-hill. He has gone there, and so have many others, and the Lord Almighty is removing the

[illegible] it [illegible] his [illegible] I shall [illegible] Gover[illegible] *as II want* [illegible], [illegible] the President of the United [illegible] or any other power can prevent it. [illegible] not worried about [illegible] dismissed from [illegible], for when the President appoints another man to be Governor of Utah Territory, you may acknowledge that the Lord has done it, for [illegible] acknowledge his hand in all things.

All people are in the hands of the Almighty, and he governs and controls them, though they cannot perceive, neither do they acknowledge, his handy-work. He exalts the President to be the head of the nation, and places Kings upon their thrones. There is not a man that escapes his cognizance, and he brings forth his purposes in the latter days. I can tell you something more, brethren and sisters, and friends, and the United States, and all the world; the Lord Almighty will not suffer his Priesthood to be again driven from the earth, even should he permit the wicked to kill and destroy this people. The Government of the United States and all the Kings of the world may go to war with us, but God will preserve a portion of the meek and humble of this people to bear off the Kingdom to the inhabitants of the earth, and will defend his Priesthood; for it is the last time, the last gathering time; and he will not suffer the Priesthood to be again driven from the earth. They may massacre men, women, and children; but the Lord will not suffer them to destroy the Priesthood; and I say to the Saints that, if they will truly practice their religion, they will live and not be cut off.

"There is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding," and many who do not hold the Priesthood have ideas which are really true, yet they are not always certain whether they are true, or not. The cogitations, concerning this people, of men upon their beds, of the President of the United States, of the members of Congress, and of the rulers of different nations, when they meditate upon the condition of the world, and their final exit from this stage of action, are that there is no evil in the Latter-day Saints. And I tell you, in the name of the God of Israel, that their secret reflections tell them this, unless they are so far depraved by wickedness that the Spirit of the Lord has ceased to strive with them. But as soon as they engage in the turmoil of their daily duties, the hue and cry that "the Mormons are about to do this, and that," attracts their attention. Formerly the rumor was that "they were agoing to tamper with the slaves," when we had never thought of such a thing. The seed of Ham, which is the seed of Cain descending through Ham, will, according to the curse put upon him, serve his brethren, and be a "servant of servants" to his fellow-creatures, until God removes the curse; and no power can hinder it. These are my views upon slavery. I will here say a little more upon this point. The conduct of the whites towards [illegible] would be [illegible], but they [illegible] privilege [illegible] so as to enj[illegible] which [illegible] obedience [illegible] of the Gospel, though [illegible] Priesthood.

[illegible] principal evil is in the rulers, [illegible] to be rulers, and in the dis[illegible]sers o[illegible] not the Constitution, it is [illegible] who have evil in their hearts, [illegible] contemplate the powers that be, as [illegible] their eyes, when they think [illegible] their beds, and in their most sober reflections are beginning to realize that God is [illegible] the earth, that the Latter-day Saints are not so bad a people as they are represented to be by their enemies; that they are not disposed to be hostile to the Government, and that they are a good people. Many who occasionly reflect calmly are beginning to realize that we have something which they know but little about, and to wish that they understood it. When they cast off these reflections fear comes upon them, because the cry, from one end of the Union to the other, is that "the Mormons are agoing to do something." What was said in Nauvoo? "Let Joe Smith and the Mormons alone, and it will be but a little time before they control the election of this State; and the man that Joe Smith says shall be Governor, so will he be, and the men whom he says shall be Representatives, so shall they be; and we will not bear it."

It was the priest in the pulpit thorning the politician, and gouging underneath, saying, "Don't you bear it," and this because the priest could not bear to stand up in the pulpit and own his shame for vindicating a false religion, for our elders could silence every one of them, and crimson their faces with shame. Hence their words and determinations were and are, "We will kill the Mormons," and the priests were pinching the Mormons from behind the politicians. How long would it have been before the whole election of Illinois would have been controlled by the Latter-day Saints? Our enemies saw this, and the devil knew it, and was mad, and determined to remove us. He did so, and I thank God for it. The priests and the politicians could discern that Mormonism was gathering to its banner its thousands and tens of thousands, and that it would be but a very short time ere the State would be governed entirely by the Latter-day Saints. The whole election would have been controlled by them, if we had not come out, and forbidden our people to vote. We had to do this, or control the ballot box.

They succeeded in killing Joseph Smith and Hyrum his brother, and in driving us to these valleys. Now, we are here, and what are they afraid of? I will tell you, they are afraid that we shall become independent of them.

The relation between us and the Government may be likened to a man having twelve sons, and all the elder sons pitch upon the younger one, as Joseph's brethren of old did upon him. They persecuted him, and lied to their father about him, and tried to alienate the feelings of the old man from him, and succeeded in a measure in estranging the feelings of the father from the young child. So it is with the General Government and us. We have plead time and time again, and will plead, saying, "Spare us, love us; we mean to be one of the best boys you have got; be kind to us, and if you chasten us, it may be said that we have

[illegible] a, and [illegible] again [illegible] you not [illegible] that [illegible] no, Tom, [illegible] boys [illegible] Joseph. [illegible] out in open [illegible] and arms [illegible] he sleeps in his [illegible] talks in his [illegible] we will not [illegible] Dick, etc., [illegible] and the old man is dozing in [illegible] "Go it boys." What will [illegible] Joseph? I will tell you. We [illegible] Government, one of the young [illegible] we cling to our parent, and [illegible] in the family, and to hail our [illegible] then, and be numbered among them either in a Territorial, or State capacity. What next? The cry is raised by the older boys that "it never will do to admit this younger child into the union, he is an alien, and we must exclude him." I will tell you what this will amount to, they will pound and abuse little Joseph until his affections are entirely weaned from his parent, and from his brethren, and he becomes an independent boy. Who will cause this; the Mormons? No, the elder brethren will do it. They will urge on their hostility against little Joseph until he is driven into Egypt for succor. Well, if this is not Egypt enough, where will you find it?

"What is going to be done with these turbulent Mormons, these outrageous Mormons?" I will tell you what might be done, and what ought to be done. The Government of the United States, and the Presidents of the United States ought to treat the religion of the Latter-day Saints as they do Methodism, Presbyterianism, Quakerism, Shakerism, and many other isms, and say, "Here, I wish you to hold your tongues about the Mormons, for they have just as good a right to their religion as you have to yours." And when the people petition for this, or that (as the right of petition should never be denied), it is the duty of those who are addressed to hearken to the petitions of the people, and to let them have officers of their own choice, for the appointing power is elected by the voice of the people, and the mass of the people hold the reigns of government in their hands. Then let the people carry out those principles they have adopted and profess to abide by, and when we wish for a Governor, or a Judge, or any other appointed officer, let us have the men we prefer, and not those who will run away and report falsehoods about us.

Many of the Battalion boys are here to-day who walked over the plains and deserts; they *know* what they have endured. They left their fathers, mothers, and children on the prairie, and some of them they have never since seen, and will not in this time, for they sleep in the silent grave. They suffered all this in fighting for the country that had cast them out!

Do I love murderers and mobocrats as I do good men? No. Do I pray for them? Yes, that the Lord would judge them out of their own mouths, and that speedily.

We plead all the time to be let alone, and to be permitted to live in peace, and not to be whipped and abused without cause, for we are "flesh of your flesh, and bone of your bone;" then why not let us enjoy our piece of cake, as we let you enjoy yours? For this we plead, and plead, and plead continually, but no, say they, [illegible] we [illegible] [illegible] is. If [illegible] are, [illegible] [illegible] Joseph [illegible] [illegible] Pr[illegible] blood, and now [illegible] would be willing [illegible] that their blood [illegible] the smoke of [illegible] for then sins [illegible] Lord wishes [illegible] before all [illegible] not where [illegible]

I [illegible] this people [illegible] I have but one [illegible] of my spirit, [illegible] we do [illegible] the religion we pro[illegible] will only practice what we profess, I tell you we are at the defiance of all hell. But if we transgress the law God has given us, and trample his mercies, blessings, and ordinances under our feet, and treat them with the indifference which I have thought that some occasionally do, not fully realizing the obligations that they are under to their God, I have feared that in consequence they would be overcome, and that the Lord would let them be scattered and smitten. But only let them live their religion, and I have no more fears with regard to their being driven, and with regard to their enemies having power over them, than I have with regard to these mountains being blown over upon this city. I am willing to fight, or to go; to run, or to stay; or to do anything else that the Lord Almighty requires of me for his Kingdom's sake, and then to lay down my life for his cause. But I swear by the Gods of eternity that I will not suffer men in our streets, and in our houses, to corrupt this people and overthrow them, the Lord and good men being my helpers.

To whom do I allude but to those who wish to destroy this people? Not one. I am not opposed to any man or set of men who are here, there, yonder, or anywhere else, but I am opposed to wickedness and vice, wherever they may be found in the whole earth; I am opposed to unrighteousness, and I always intend to be.

I prefer to remark upon subjects as they present themselves to my mind; though I might prepare a course of lectures, and confine myself to given subjects, as I have often done, but when I am in this stand I hoist the gate and let the flood run, not caring which way it goes, or how.

What happened when I chastised a runaway officer? I did not say one rash word to him, nor chastise him half as much as he deserved; but I told him what he was, and how he looked to me; what he was sent here for, and what he should be, if he magnified his office. Before the meeting was out the word was, "O! we are agoing to be driven; here is a mob coming." Said I, "Get out of my way, or I will kick you out; what are you afraid of?" "O! of the Government of the United States?" I replied, "Let me die and go to my Father in heaven, before I stoop to that abominable wickedness; I never

earth

the man who has
al rights? I have
hings for all
the hypocrite, the
liar, the sorcerer,
adulterer? I have
them, until they
s, and turn to God
mere
cording to my priestly
I in
in my discourse that
been
that my religion is first and
d I will send it to all the
arth, I President Prince, whether he retains me
s Governor of Utah Territory or not; and,
ther I should be President of the United
s, or King of Great Britain, or Monarch of
he world, my religion and my God are first
foremost with me. My kingship, my pre-
p and all shall bow to that eternal Priest-
which God has bestowed upon me. I have
Governor of this Territory ever since it has
e, and in all my official transactions I have
acted in accordance with the Priesthood, I never
will infringe upon it with anything I may operate in
n any office; let them all go by the board, before
I will be brought into a situation that will cause
me to infringe upon my Priesthood. In all my
doings as an Elder of Israel, as holding the keys
of the Priesthood to this generation, if I continue
to be the Governor of this Territory, I shall mag-
nify my office by my Priesthood. No matter
what my Priesthood and calling are, all must bow
to my God, and to his commandments. Have I
been obliged to violate any law? No. The
Priesthood assists me to honor, to preserve, to see,
and understand the welfare of the Government I
am acting for, and enables me so to do a thousand
times more effectually than I could if I had not
this Priesthood; and if any one can produce docu-
ments to prove that any Governor has magnified
his office better than I have, let him bring them
forth

In the free and independent Government of the United States, who in the eyes of the Almighty ought to have the privilege of sitting in the Presidential chair to be countenanced, adored, loved, and reverenced in his capacity, and be justified therein by the heavenly hosts? It is that man who is sanctified before God, and who loves the Lord Jesus with all his heart, or in other words, who is endowed with wisdom from on high, and has revelations, visions, and dreams, giving him understanding to provide for the welfare of every portion of the nation, and a willingness to preserve to every one their fair and just religious rights, as well as political, for the good and benefit of all. In the eyes of Eternal Justice, only such a man has the right to that office. They are afraid to put a man there who is a professor of religion, lest he favors his own party. A man is a fool that would do that when he has laws to preserve and keep inviolate towards the Methodists, and all religious denominations.

The Kingdom that Daniel saw will push forth its law, and that law will protect the Methodists, Quakers, Pagans, Jews, and every other creed there ever was or ever will be, in their religious rights. At the same time the Priesthood will bear rule, and hold the government of the Kingdom under control in all things, so that every knee will bow, and every tongue confess, to the glory of God the Father, that Jesus is the Christ. Every one must bow to the Savior, and acknowledge and confess him with their mouths. Can they

still [illegible]
And I [illegible]
into [illegible], a [illegible]
priest The Jew [illegible]
[illegible] to drown, and [illegible]
to pull him out. "I ca[illegible]
"except you repent, and [illegible]
Said the Jew, "Pull me out [illegible]
believe in the Lord Jesus C[illegible]
Catholic Church?" asked th[illegible]
answered, "No, I do not" "Th[illegible]
there," and the priest held him [illegible] awhile. "Do you believe in Jesus C[illegible] "O yes, take me out." "Well," re[illegible] the priest, "thank God that another sin[illegible] has repented; you are safe now, and while [illegible] safe I will send you right to heaven's gate." and he gave the Jew a push under the ice.

I most assuredly expect that the time will come when every tongue shall confess, and every knee shall bow to the Savior, though the people may believe what they will with regard to religion. The kingdom that Daniel saw will actually make laws to protect every man in his rights, as our government does now, whether the religions of the people are true or false. We believe this as sincerely as we believe anything else; and I think that the course of this people has proved it as far as the acts of the children of men are concerned. All creation could ask for no more witnesses than they have that the New Testament is true, that Jesus is the Christ, that the holy prophets are true, that the Book of Mormon is true, and that Joseph Smith was a prophet and revelator. But the Lord has so ordained that no man shall receive the benefits of the everlasting Priesthood without humbling himself before Him, and giving Him the glory for teaching him, that he may be able to witness to every man of the truth, and not depend upon the words of any individual on the earth, but know for himself, live "by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," love the Lord Jesus Christ and the institutions of His kingdom, and finally enter into His glory. Every man and woman may be a revelator, and have the testimony of Jesus which is the spirit of prophecy, and foresee the mind and will of God concerning them, eschew evil, and choose that which is good.

There are thousands of things I would like to name with regard to ourselves and our Government. Our whole interest is in it; we cling to it as a suckling child to its mother's breast, and we will hang to it until they beat us off, until we can hang no longer, and this will never happen, unless they drive us from it under the pretext of what Mormonism is agoing to do. What is the Kingdom of God agoing to accomplish on the earth? It will revolutionize not only the United States, but the whole world, and will go forth from the morning to the evening, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, so shall be the ushering forth of the Gospel until the whole earth is deluged with it, and the righteous are gathered. The sinner will slay the sinner, the wicked will fall upon the wicked until there is an utter overthrow and consumption upon the face of the whole earth, until God reigns whose right it is As it was said in the days of the Saviour, "if we let this man alone you may depend upon it that through his influence he will take away our [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] th[illegible] M[illegible], [illegible] we ha[illegible] beyond our [illegible] sa[illegible] It has happened to us as it [illegible] to th[illegible] stone wall which was five feet high and six feet thick. The boys could not g[illegible], and said among themselves we will t[illegible] over the old wall, they turned it over and it [illegible] higher than before. So with us, every time the Mormons have been driven they have enlarged their borders Look out, drive us again and we will take the kingdom before you are aware of it.

We certainly shall gather out all the good as fast as we can, to the people who love truth will hear sound argument which is our rule of battle, and it is a scientific one. Now come on to war, whenever you think best, and we will gather out the honest until the last seed of Israel is gathered and there is hardly enough left to elect a President, even among the Know-Nothings

Only persecute us and we will grow the faster. Say they, 'what shall we do? do tell us which way we shall go, for we do not know what to do, nor what to say, if we persecute them they will grow the faster, and take away our place and nation, and will get all the good people to follow them, and what shall we do? It is a hard case I know

When strangers come among us they often feel diffident, for we keep to ourselves here in these distant parts, and do not always immediately know whether we are about to receive friends, or enemies, into our community. We have been persecuted and driven, and been a scoff and a by-word, and when strangers come among us they feel a delicacy in making our acquaintance I say, brethren and sisters, be frank with strangers, and when you talk with them or are in their presence, live your religion, and do not vary one particle from the truth

You say, "I love my God and my religion." Then manifest to them what your religion is, and if they are honest ere long they will fall in with it, if not they will take up their line of march and leave us; and my prayer is that we may be delivered from every inbred corruption

So far as the time and your patience would permit I have endeavoured to candidly and truly portray our real feelings and views with regard to the General Government, the members of the various Christian denominations, the upright everywhere, and the corrupt and abominable wherever they are to be found; and also to briefly sketch a few of the scenes and incidents of our past and present history.

Let us live our religion, and show the world that we love the Lord Jesus Christ better than anything else Though the world persecute you, yet cling to the Lord and the Holy Gospel, even if you lay down your lives for the truth's sake May God bless you Amen

UPB